



HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES
IRANIAN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

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TAPE No.: 1

RESTRICTIONS: NONE

NARRATOR: KADJAR, HAMID
TAPE NO.: 01

REZERZA, PRINCE

REZSO SHAH

ALI-REZA, PRINCE

ASHRAF, PRINCESS

CLERGY, GOVERNMENT & THE

COUP D'ETAT OF FEBRUARY 1921

EMBAL, MANUCHER, AS PRIME MINISTER

FARAH PERSIAN, AGOL-RO

FIRZI, MIRAFAR

FRANCE

FRANCO, GEN. VALENTIN

GOVAN, SHAH, BACKGROUND & CHARACTER OF

GREAT BRITAIN, INVOLVEMENT IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

HABIB, RADJEVARDI

HOSSUD, SHAH

KHOMIAD-ALI SHAH

KHOMIAD-ALI SHAH PRINCE OF QAJAR DYNASTY

LAST SACRED CROWN PRICE

MAJLIS, MANDATE OF

REPUBLIC, 1924 PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH

REZA SHAH, ABDICATION OF

REZA SHAH, ACCESSION TO THE THRONE

REZA-KHAN (GARDAR BEHRAM)

SHAH

TEHRAN, SEYED-ZIA

03-10-87

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VOSSOUK, KASHAN

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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Narrator: Hamid Kadjar

Date: November 26, 1981

Place: London, England

Interviewer: Habib Ladjevardi

Tape No.: 1

Q. Perhaps we could begin by having you describe your earliest memories of your father and his life in Europe, his memories about Iran ... and just about anything else that occurs to you I think will be very precious to anyone who will be listening to these tapes in the next 50 to 100 years.

A. Well, my memories of my father only started when I left Tabriz, as a very small child, to come to Tehran and live with him in the palace of Golestan, where he was heir to the throne. I left Iran when I was about four years old, perhaps even less, to come to Europe to be educated in England on the insistence of my father. I came with my younger sister, Aghdas, and we stopped off in Constantinople, where my grandfather, Mohammed-Ali Shah, was living at that time. He had been exiled from Iran in 1909 in favor of his son, Ahmed Shah, and at that time he went to live in Odessa, in Russia.

He stayed there until the Revolution of 1918, at which time he, his wife, my two other uncles, Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Majid, who were living with him, including my aunt, their younger sister ... (correction: she was not their younger sister, I think ... I think in fact she was in between the two brothers).... As I say, after the revolution they all came to Constantinople, where I joined them.

As my grandfather and my grandmother thought that I was too young to continue the voyage to England, they kept me there with my elder brother, Hossein Kadjar, whom I had met for the first time in my life (correction: whom I met for the first time in my life). Hossein had been born, like myself, in Tabriz, but at the age of 40 days he was sent to join our grandfather in Odessa, and so traveled with them from Russia to Constantinople when they fled. We stayed in Constantinople. And then the whole family again uprooted itself and went to San Remo in Italy, where a year or so later my grandfather died. The whole family, once again, after that event left San Remo and went to Paris. We stayed in Paris, my elder brother and I, for about another year, and at the end of that time, when I was seven years old, we finally proceeded to London, in England, arriving there when I was 25 -- correction: arriving there when I was seven years old, in 1925.

The reason why we came to England -- or rather the reason my

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father chose England, for us to be educated, was because he had a friend in a gentleman called Sir Percy Herron-Maxwell, whom the family had met or knew in Russia. My recollections are slightly hazy here, but Sir Percy Herron-Maxwell had been a friend, in one form or another, of the family, as he had at one time been in business in Russia and presumably at that time had connections with them.

Understandably, neither my brother nor I spoke a word of English when we arrived, and in fact spoke practically no Persian. He certainly spoke no Persian, and only, in reality, Russian. The reason I didn't speak Persian was because in the family, in Azerbaijan, the language was Turkish, and it continued. And we continued speaking in that language even after arrival in Constantinople, as my grandfather and family all spoke that language amongst themselves or, in their case, Russian, as they had been brought up in their youth in Russia. So this meant that, on being taken over by the Herron-Maxwell family, we literally spoke no English. But at that time, Lady Herron-Maxwell had started a school in Barrowheath and we joined the other young boys and girls at the school.

Q. Was anyone else with you when you came to England? Was it just yourself and your brother, or did you have...?

A. We were brought over to England by Saleh Khan Hezmat

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Saltaneh, whom I believe belonged to the Loghman family, and was a secretary to my father. But after having delivered us to England, he returned to Paris. All this was followed by a variety of schools, basically learning English one way or another, until we had -- by we, I mean my brother and I had -- both reached what was called at that time the Junior Cambridge School Certificate or Junior Oxford School Certificate.

And after that, Hossein, my brother, chose to become an agriculturist and went to the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester (written Cirencester) and I joined H.M.S. Worcester Thames Northgoda Training College at Greenheyes ⁱⁿ Kent.

Q. And how long were you there -- at this college?

A. It's a two-year course. I was there from 1934 to 1936, and after I'd obtained the scholastic and nautical degrees, I joined the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company as a cadet, as an indentured cadet to that company. My father had arrived in England from Paris, but we saw very little of him and in many ways he was like a stranger to us. And of course, since leaving Persia, neither my brother nor I had seen our mother, our mothers for should I say mother?.

Q. Where was she? She was...

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A. In Tehran.

Q. She'd remained in Tehran?

A. She'd remained in Tehran. After leaving the Worcester, as I say, I was indentured to the Royal Mail, and sailed in 1936 for South America as a cadet on a vessel of 3000 dead-weight tons. After working on the South American trade for a short period, I was transferred to the West Indian ships of that company. Actually they went through the West Indies and up through Panama to the west coast of America. In 1939, in April 1939 to be exact, I left the Royal Mail, and through a cousin in the Russian branch of the family, Rakhmed-Din Kadjar -- who had been instrumental in putting Elizabeth Arden on the map, after which he joined Helena Rubenstein, and he was there when I first met him -- I joined Mobil Oil in London. This cousin of mine had a friend by the name of Michel Bertain <?>, who was a senior foreign oil executive -- or rather foreign trade executive -- in Mobil Oil at that time.

Q. Why did you leave? Why did you sort of change careers?

A. I got fed up with the sea -- I could see no great future in it anyway -- but did not know when I left, like most other people did not know, that there could possibly be a war later

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on that year.

Q. I see, this was before the war had actually broken out.

A. In April 1939. When war was declared in September of '39, I tried hard to join the Royal Navy, but found that it was not going to be quite that easy. It must be remembered that I was a foreigner, and in the confusion at that time it was difficult, really, to see how I could go about doing this. However, through the Herron-Maxwells we had already met a family called the Thessigere <?>, where one of the brothers was an admiral in the Royal Navy. And after a great deal of pushing and pulling, wheeling and dealing, I was accepted into the Royal Navy in 1942 as a sub-lieutenant. And I left Mobil Oil then and proceeded into the Navy.

Q. And where did you serve, what were some of your warfare experiences?

A. My first ship was H.M.S. Conqueror, which was an Acheron ship -- by that I mean an anti-aircraft ship, sailing up and down the North Sea on patrol. In 1943, my father suddenly died, in Maidenhead, in peculiar circumstances -- at least one thought they were peculiar, as he was perfectly healthy. And the Admiralty were kind enough to give me leave of absence from sea duties for six months, and put me into the anti-submarine warfare division of the Admiralty in London.

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whilst I tried to sort out my father's affairs.

Before all this happened, in 1939 also, my elder brother, Hossein, had gone to Canada -- had in fact emigrated to Canada. However, on the outbreak of war, he also tried to return to England to join the Navy and managed to do so shortly after my father had died. So on his return to England in 1943, I met him since I last saw him in 1939. He was put on.... He joined the navy and was drafted to minesweepers based in the south of England.

Q. Were you able to -- either of you able to -- attend your father's funeral or did you get there too late?

A. There was no funeral, as such. My father was exhumed and subsequently put in a shallow grave. And I arranged a memorial service for him at Cawton Hall in London, through the good offices of people like Sir Hassan Bonavardi, who was then advisor to the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Leopold Amery, and others like Mr. Firoz Khan of India, and....

Q. And then where was he finally -- where was the body put to rest?

A. After the war, arrangements were made to return the body to the family tomb in Kerbala, in Iraq.

Q. So after the war was over, what did you do?

A. During the war I served ... after the arrangements concerning my father were completed, I returned to sea in H.M.S. Duke of York, which was then the flagship of the whole fleet, serving Russian convoys. When the Duke of York finished and had to return to England to be refitted, I was transferred to a frigate called H.M.S. Wild Goose, which was the leading frigate of the Second Support Group sailing out of Liverpool Western Approaches, and consisted of five -- I think it was five -- ^{birds} class (?) sloops whose duty was simply to kill submarines in the Atlantic.

When the war with Germany was finished, I obtained leave of absence from the Admiralty to make a quick visit to Paris to see the family, who had been in France throughout all this period, as I hadn't seen them since well before the war, actually since 1934 -- if my memory serves me right.

Q. Who were the remaining family members there?

A. The family consisted of my grandmother, who was still alive....

Q. Mohammed-Ali Shah's wife?

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A. Mohammad-Ali Shah's wife. Two uncles, Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Majid, and the whole of the family retinue, which was still, in a way, ancient Persia, and quite considerable in numbers.

Q. Were they actually in Paris or outside of Paris?

A. They were actually in Paris itself -- in St. Cloud, they held a house in St. Cloud.

Q. It must have been a large house, to house so many people.

A. It was a very large house. The retinue were getting on in years -- by that I mean each individual was getting older, of course. And in a way, it was still really ancient Iran -- they still wore ... the women wore the chador, and they behaved.... In a way it wasn't really ancient Persia and it wasn't modern Persia, it was something in between. As they had left, as I said before, they had left Iran in about 1903 and hadn't been back in Iran after Russia.

Q. At this point, maybe you could go back to your father and his ... what you recollect or were told about his life in Tehran as the Crown Prince, and circumstances that led to his departure.

A. My father and his elder brother, Ahmad Shah, at a very

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young age, well, since 1909, since my grandfather had to leave, became king and heir, and stayed together until the fall of the Qajars. Ahmad Shah was in Paris when the actual....

Q. End of the Qajar...?

A. ...the actual end of....

Q. The dynasty fell.

A. ...when the dynasty fell. He had left for Europe -- I'll go back on that. I had seen Ahmad Shah once in my life, in Constantinople, when he came to visit his father. And that's the only time I ever saw him. He was extremely good-looking. By that I mean not good-looking in the sense of ... he had a very noble face in the same way as my father did, and they got that from their mother. Ahmad Shah spent a lot of his time in Europe, and when the family actually fell, when the dynasty actually fell, he was not in Iran. he came ... there were two revolutions. One was when Reza Khan became Prime Minister, and I think that was....

Q. 1923.

A. In 1923. And Ahmad Shah came back and stayed a short time in Iran at that time, then left again for Paris. And in

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reality, he never ~~the~~ back. And when in 1925 parliament voted against the ~~Re~~ , it was my father, who was then living in the Golestan Palace in Tehran, who was shown to the frontier and left for Paris.

Q. Was there anything that the family desired to do or could do to change the course that history was taking, while your father was in Tehran, to persuade members of the parliament to...?

A. Well, it's always been said that, on his voyage to England, Ahmad Shah was asked by the British Government -- I assume in the form of Lord Curzon -- to make a speech at the Guild Hall in London in order to bring in British experts into Iran. And this did not mean that Iran would become a kind of colony of England, but that things like the police, the customs, the post, etc. would be trained by the English, and it would give the English a foothold in Iran. A bigger foothold, perhaps, than they had at that time.

Ahmad Shah categorically refused to do this, his argument being that his grandfather, Mozaffar-ed-din Shah, had given to Iran its first parliament. In other words, that Iran was a democracy ruled by a parliament. And his contention was that if the parliament in Persia agreed to the English proposal in the first instance, then he, as a democratic monarch, would ratify their conclusion. But that he could

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not do it the other way around: that is to say that he, in England, would accept it, and then force his decision through parliament.

Having done that, he left England and went to Paris. And I'm told that Sir Percy Lorraine <i>--</i> I don't know what his position was at that time....

Q. Ambassador, I believe, to Iran.

A. Continuously went to Paris asking Ahmad Shah to rescind his decision, and, so I'm told, that if he had done so, the Qajars, in the eyes of the English, would have been guaranteed a thousand years. But Ahmad Shah refused. And by that time, Reza Khan had already been chosen, or looked at favorably, by General Ironside in the context of persia as the future dictator or leader of a republic and the coup was made.

During the war, and before Reza Khan was actually deposed in 1941, there had been many meetings in London with my father and various members of the British government when it had been decided that Reza Khan would be set aside because of his familiarity and friendliness with certain German elements...in southern Persia at that time, and that the Qajars would be returned to the throne of Persia -- which my father firmly believed. But anyway, this was an agreement with Sir Anthony Eden, who was the foreign secretary at the time.

But in the interim, Sir Walter Monckton <?>, as I understand it, was sent to Persia to make an on-the-spot examination of the position. And he apparently had long conversations with Mr. Foroughi, who was then Prime Minister in Iran, and Mr. Foroughi managed to change the thinking in London by suggesting to Sir Walter Monckton that perhaps then was not the time to carry out this operation, as all the rolling stock for the Russian armed forces were passing through southern Persia to the north -- through southern Persian ports to the north -- and to Russia, and that if such a drastic change in the interior politics of Persia were made at that time, it could perhaps unsettle the smooth flowing of this rolling stock. Which I believe to be completely untrue. Many years after all this happened, I was speaking to a senior Persian of the Nouri family, of the Nouri Esfandiari family, who told me that everything in Tehran had already been arranged then to receive my father on his return. So it is really a little difficult to know what to believe. Suffice it to say that it didn't happen.

Q. Were you yourself aware that these things were happening at the time or were you told about them later?.

A. No, I was fully aware and partook in the conversations. And, literally, one day, after lunch in London with Sir Anthony Eden and various other members of the British

Cabinet, my father and I, in walking through Green Park, honestly thought that the next day we would be asked to return to Tehran. My father had been asked at that luncheon, because I was then still in the Navy, whether he was prepared to take me back with him, or what did he intend. And he said no, he was going to take me with him back to Tehran.

Q. Would your brother Hossein have come too, or was there any discussion as to...?

A. My brother Hossein was not in England at that time. And in fact there was no discussion from that point of view at all. One doesn't know quite, really, what would have happened if we had returned.

Q. Could you tell us a little more about your father -- his personality, his thoughts, his....

A. My father had a very strong personality, but in a similar manner as his brother, the Shah, Ahmad Shah, had never really been educated. Neither of the two boys had ever been to school; they'd grown up under the auspices of various teachers in Tabriz, followed by Tehran, and had very little inkling of what the outside world was all about.

Q. How were they actually taught? Did they have a private tutor or ...?

A. I think they had private tutors in Iran.

Q. Were they Iranians or...?

A. Yes, their teachers were Iranians. If either one or the other spoke any foreign language at all at that time, it would have been a smattering of French.

Q. What language did they speak between the two of them?

A. They spoke Persian -- and probably Azerbaijani Turkish.

Q. And with their mother the same language?

A. The mother with the same language, with possibly the added smattering of Russian which she had picked up during her stay in Russia. But the language within the family, certainly within the old generation, was Azerbaijani Turkish. It must be understood that, in our dynasty, the heir to the throne is always governor of Azerbaijan, which is the largest province of Iran, and of course, in a way, the most important, as it borders Russia for 3000 kilometers.

Q. So, in fact, when Ahmad Shah was out of Iran, it was your father who carried on the duties of the King?

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A. Yes. In going back again to 1941 and the various meetings in London, I've never been quite sure in my own mind whether it was the intention to take back my father.... No, that's incorrect -- I think the intention was to take back my father, but with a limited stay, as he was too colored by the older elements of the dynasty. And to try that approach, first of all, before putting in a younger man of the newer generation.

Q. Was there any discussion as to who that person would be?

A. Well the impression I got was it would be me, and this, in a way, is brought out in quite a number of the Shah's books -- the late Shah Reza Pahlavi -- in which he actually mentions that the British were in contact with the young Gajar who had served in the Royal Navy.

Q. Why wouldn't it have been your brother, who is older?

A. Well, my brother at that time was Canadian. And well ... that's really the only thing I can think of.

Q. As far as you know, what role did your father play in internal politics in Iran during the years that he was there? What were some of the ideas that he had and the policies he pursued vis-a-vis the cabinet and the Majlis?

A. Well, the Majles had only just been given to Iran by his grandfather. And I think both he and Ahmad Shah were really too young. Ahmad Shah, after all, died at the age of 31, and my father at the age of 43, in 1943. Now he left Persia in 1925, so he was then, presumably, around 25 years old. I don't know the exact dates, or the exact ages, as in those days we didn't have identity cards, and I think the parents wrote the birth of the child in the Koran. In the Arabic sense or the Arabic year, with the hégira, and to translate the hégira into Persian, again you can make mistakes. So one doesn't know the exact ages, but they were both very young.

And one must understand also that, at that time, the sycophants in the Persian court were quite unbelievable. I know that you had the sycophants also in the days of Reza Shah. In many ways possibly one of the reasons for his downfall was the fact that he listened to too many. But this has always been historically a way of life in Persia, and particularly in the Persian Court. In other words, everything that either Ahmad Shah said or my father said, presumably the people around them said, "Yes, yes, that must be true." But in point of fact it was not. And if you say that enough times to any young man, who's impressionable, and particularly personable, they're inclined to believe it and believe they can do no wrong.

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The difficulty has always been in Persia to find really honest men around the young Shah to advise and guide him properly and vice versa, for that young Shah to listen and do as he was advised. So it's really difficult to say. Politically I doubt very much if they had much concern, except for the fact that I think that it is well known that Ahmad Shah would never countenance the spilling of blood. There were many opportunities of disposing of Reza Khan at the time when he was in the Cossack Brigade or whatever, but Ahmad Shah would never listen to it.

Q. There were actually proposals made to try to deal with...?

A. Yes, I think many proposals were made, by some people in the tribes, to stop the influence of Reza Khan at that time. Even to the point of getting rid of him. But, as I say, Ahmad Shah would never, never listen to this. In fact, I think that most Persians today recognize and accept the fact that he was a remarkably good man; but being just a good man in those days in that position was possibly not enough to maintain and to keep that position.

Q. Well, some of the critics have also written that he was more concerned with enjoying himself in Europe and pursuing pleasures than with affairs of state. Do you think that's a correct judgment?

A. Well, I think it's a fair comment, but to what extent, I don't know, as he was never a very strong man. Physically, he was short, and I think he suffered from glands in a way that he grew enormously fat. I think it is correct to say, that yes, okay, he liked the fleshpots of Europe, but that I think that physically he was quite incapable of really taking advantage of them to the extent that people might think. My father never came to Europe, as far as I know, until the Qajars fell. I know that he paid one state official visit to India, but I think that was all. In fact, I know very little about what he did or what Ahmed Shah did after I left the country myself. As I say, I never saw him again.

Q. Is it true that your father was the more strong willed person?

A. Yes, he was, he was a stronger willed person, he was more athletic -- which was all the more reason why it was surprising when he did die, so young in age in Maidenhead, particularly after his doctors had said he had never suffered from anything. But he was, yes, he was quite definitely the stronger of the two. In fact, he was the stronger child of Mohammed-Ali Shah, both physically and mentally.

Q. What sports did he enjoy?

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A. Football, particularly when he was young. He was very active.

Q. In Iran?

A. In Iran. But as I say, I spent so little time with him in Iran anyway, and I'd be brought as a child just for him to sort of say a few words and laugh, and that kind of thing, and I'd be taken away back to the harem again, so you.... As children, we never had any family life, as one recognizes it, as one understands it in Europe.

Q. Now was there any time while you were both in Europe that you spent considerable time together -- or even a whole day or half a day?

A. Oh, yes. Many times during the war I'd go down to see him in Maidenhead, whenever I could, particularly between the start of the war in 1939 and when I joined the navy in 1942. I went over to Wales after the bombings in London. He went to Wales, to Rill [?] in northern Wales, and I used to visit him there from time to time, during the time when I was immobile in London. But one never really got close to him as a son gets close to his father over here. It was just not done.

Q. And what were the things you would talk about? Did he

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tell you anything about Iran or any sort of memories of his days in Iran?

A. Well, not really, because we didn't have a basic language together. His English was poor, his French was not good, my French was not good, my English was, and of course I couldn't speak Persian, because I'd forgotten -- since I left Iran at the age of four or five, I completely forgot Persian. As I said previously today, I never really spoke Persian as a child. I spoke Turkish, Azerbaijani Turkish. So I learned Persian, the hard way, when I went back to Persia in the oil business.

Q. So therefore your Turkish had also been forgotten?

A. The Turkish has gone completely. I had no further means of using it or opportunity. And of course my elder brother had forgotten everything except English.

Q. So does that mean that there was no chance for him to really tell you what was going through his mind about Iran and, in particular, when Reza Shah was supposed to abdicate, I imagine there must have been some reaction, thoughts that must have gone through....

A. Yea, he would talk, he would talk, as I say, but as I didn't know the people he was talking about -- I knew of

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them, but I had no knowledge of what they were, or what they had done. So it didn't mean an awful lot to me. All I knew was that Reza Khan was there and that he had taken the place of my uncle. More than that, no, I didn't know anything at all.

Q. But when Reza Shah abdicated and left Iran, was forced to leave Iran, did your father make any comments about it, you know, something that had happened to him had happened to the man who had replaced him?

A. My father was delighted. Obviously. When did he leave Iran, Reza Khan?

Q. 1941. He left Iran in September, 1941 for Mauritius and then South Africa.

A. Yes. Because my father at that time thought that he was going to be taken back. He was firmly convinced of that. But as it didn't occur, and it didn't occur, then he started losing hope. He was firmly convinced, by all the conversations that had taken place here in London, that on the fall of Reza Khan we would be going back. And he really couldn't believe it when it didn't happen.

Q. Why should the British have helped to do this? I mean why shouldn't ... what would have been the advantage to them

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in doing this?

A. I think the advantage was that they had realized in some ways they'd made a mistake with Reza Khan. If one goes back to 1932, the oil.... Reza Khan had taken over the oil company. And it was only on an understanding between Reza Khan and Lord Cadman <?>, if my facts are right, and on the promise that Reza Khan would get three percent of the oil revenues for himself -- for his own personal use -- that he again allowed the oil company to operate. And I think at that time, British petroleum, which was after all 51% owned by the British government, had started having their misgivings about the family; but they were stuck with them, there was no way of doing anything about it.

Then of course, I don't know how true it is, but when southern Persia during the war was supposed to be a nest of German spies, ably abetted by Reza Khan, who knew they were there, and who had been warned to do something about it, get rid of them or clarify the situation, and wouldn't do it. But he himself, Reza Khan, never believed he would ever be kicked out. He couldn't believe that... until of course Iran was invaded.

Q. Who were the other prominent members of the Qajar family who were in Europe, and were they at all active in affairs of state or politics, aside from your father? Any of his

brothers, or...?

A. No. No. Of course, the Qajars are a tribe, they're numerous, many branches. At the time, I think, of the 1925 coup, there was a family of Mas'oud in Esfahan, who were embroiled in the coup in the form of Sareh-ed-Dowleh Mas'oud, as I've been told. Others like Seyyed Zia-ed-Din ... and I believe two or three others. To what extent Fermanfarniahan himself was in it, one doesn't know. But as I've been told, they did help to bring about the coup against their own family.

Q. There are some written stories that Nosrat-ed-Dowleh was rushing back to Tehran, I believe, from a trip to Europe, thinking that perhaps he was going to be....

A. Nosrat ed-Dowleh Firouz at that time was a foreign minister to Ahmad Shah, and a very close friend, apparently, of Lord Curzon. And it was, after all, Lord Curzon, who, I am told, did engineer the coup in the end against the Qajars, after Reza Khan had been chosen by Ironside as being the man to carry it out. But it was never the intention of Reza Khan -- or of others -- of Reza Khan to become the Shah or of others to make him the Shah. The original intention was that Persia would be made into a republic. But, then again, the mullahs insisted that there should be a Shah, that Iran was ungovernable without a Shah because of all the various ethnic

groups who realized only one thing and that was the Shah.

Q. I mean, it almost sounds as if the leading Qajars in Tehran were somewhat helpless in preventing this thing from happening. One would think that they would have enough allies in and out of government to do something, to take some initiative to maintain the dynasty.

A. Well, I always believed that if Ahdad Shah had really put his foot down, and with whatever army he had and the tribes -- who I understand were completely, in many ways completely, faithful to him -- and if he'd stood his ground, it could not have happened, Rezz Khan could not have done it. But he was not in Iran at the time, he would not articulate in favor of his brother, my father -- my father was powerless to do anything because his brother was Shah -- so it really was a vicious circle.

Q. And the many telegrams which were apparently going back and forth, if we were able to read those today, what would we have found them to say?

A. The telegrams are in my possession. I have never read them myself because they ... firstly, because they are in Persian; secondly, because I've never had the time to decode them. But there were telegrams between my father and Ahdad Shah and vice versa. And I believe historically they could

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be quite interesting, but it means sitting down, going through them carefully, and doing a research job on the whole thing. They could, of course, be of great use to some library, presumably, I don't know; but I think the thing to do is to really research them first of all to find out what is in them. They are in code, but the code is there with them; the code is amongst the telegrams.

Q. So to follow the path of your father when he left Iran, he actually left Iran through which border?

A. He was shown to the northern border. At that time there was a train -- first of all by car, then by train, and I think his.... Yes, I've been told that when he left, he had a hundred pounds in the bank in London and a ring on his finger, on the frontier of Persia, and that ring was taken off him....

Q. By a soldier, by one of the...?

A. By the soldiers who took him to the frontier. And I think he went by bus and train to the Lebanon, from there by ship, and eventually he landed in France. And his first port of call was his mother's house in St. Cloud. Subsequently, on the advice of various friends, he chose London, or rather England, anyway, as his domicile.

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Q. And where did he actually live here in England? ✓

A. He lived in London until the war, and then he went to Rill <?> in Wales, as I said before, during the bombings in London; and then when he came back, he took a house in Maidenhead, where he died.

Q. Do you actually know where he was living in London? The house or the apartment?

A. There was a hotel, hotel of bleak <?> apartments at the end of Barclay Square, called, if I remember, Lansdowne House. He lived there for some time, and then in Half Moon Street, there was a hotel -- I've forgotten the name of it now -- until he set himself up first in Rill and then in Maidenhead.

Q. Was there any agreement as to any funds being provided by the new regime or the Qajar family?

A. No. My father's own estates were Soltanat-Abad and Aghdasiyeh, just north of Tehran, which were enormous and they were ... they belonged to him. But on the death of Ahmed Shah he declared himself in the world press as the rightful Shah of Iran, pointing out that the Qajars had never abdicated their right to the throne. And when that was issued in the press, Reza Khan confiscated the estates. The

estates went, and subsequently, of course, they were used by the military, they became barracks, with Aghdasiyeh and Soltanat-Abad -- I think, if I am right, with little factories in Soltanat-Abad itself.

Q. That far down?

A. Oh, yes. The whole of Soltanat-Abad and the whole of Aghdasiyeh. So that meant that he really had no revenue at all from Iran. He had a small income from his brother, Ahmad Shah, and that was it. But he had never saved money or made money, he had never given that a thought, so....

Q. As far as you know, how did he sort of pass his days? What did he do?

A. He read a lot. He saw various Persian friends when they came over here -- very quietly. In Maidenhead he had a large garden and he looked after the garden, or tried to look after it, himself. I wasn't with him; at the time I was out in Mobil in London, which meant I was working in London, so I saw him from time to time, and that would be the evenings. He occupied himself.

Q. Was his wife with him?

A. No, no, no. He was entirely alone. He had a manservant

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and a cook, and that was about it.

Q. And how about your mother, what was she doing?

A. She was in Persia. I never saw her. I didn't see my mother since I left her at the age of about three or four.



HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES
IRANIAN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

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NARRATOR: HAMID KADJAR

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TAPE No.: 2

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES
IRANIAN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Narrator: Hamid Kadjar

Date: November 26, 1981

Place: London, England

Interviewer: Habib Ladjevardi

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Q. Is your mother or your brother's mother still living?

A. Oh, yes. My mother is alive; she's in Tehran. My elder brother Hosseini's mother died two years ago in Tehran.

Q. Were these the two wives that your father had, or were there any...?

A. No, we're five, five children -- three boys and two girls -- and each one from a different mother. And the others are all alive in Tehran.

Q. What do you remember about your mother? What sort of person?

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A. Well, she laughs a lot, she's very gay. My mother married again after the divorce from my father. She married Sepahbodi, who's an archaeologist, and they have a daughter, Fakhri, who married Gharani, Col nei Gharani (who is the younger brother of General Gharani who was killed in 1973 by a group called Forghan in Tehran, and he at that time was head of the army, but anti-mullah, and quite capable of doing a coup d'etat against the revolutionary priests -- which I think he had the intention of doing. That is to say, I think that is why he was killed).

Q. What was it like growing up in this country as a member of a deposed royal family? Was it something that people, your friends, schoolmates knew about, asked you about, or is it something that was just never spoken about?

A. Well, they knew about it. they found it very odd in many ways, and my brother and I find it even odder because we never gave it a thought. We had never grown up in the Court in Persia; we had no idea of what those things meant. But it was fun in many ways. No, we really didn't give it any thought; other people gave far more thought to it than we did.

Q. Did people address you as "Your Highness", "Prince" or something?

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A. No, no. No, no, no. Only if they wanted to pull our legs. In any event, during the years I was at sea in the Navy, I wasn't even Kadjar, I was David Drummond. For years and years, I responded to the name of David Drummond. I'd been asked to assume an English-sounding name by Sir Anthony Eden because, at that time, the British recognized Reza Shah as the official Shah of Iran, and it would have been a little embarrassing to all concerned if I had been serving in the Royal Navy under my own name.

Q. How did you happen to choose this name?

A. It came out of the telephone book. I think I was ... I'm not sure if there was any other foreigner in the Royal Navy at that time as an officer, serving as an officer.

Q. And you say it was fun having been or being a prince. Can you think of any instances, any joyful memories, any sort of games, childhood games or school games you played?

A. Well, I remember only one instance really, when we were staying in Northumberland. And my guardian at that time -- I won't mention any names here -- was not on very good terms with the Duchess of Northumberland, which was entirely mutual. And we were invited to a hunt ball at ~~the~~ Castle. And on entering the hall, a man in a kind of uniform with a rod in his hand would tap the rod on the floor and yell your

name out. And as he yelled my name out, and because she was polite, the Duchess of Northumberland had to come and curtsey. Which my guardian enjoyed enormously. But that didn't alter the fact that, as soon as this was done, we were relegated to the main hall, and the duchess and her party retired to their exclusive part of the ballroom, with a large cordon between them and the populace, i.e., us. It's the only thing I can remember.

Q. When was the first time you went back to Iran? And what were your impressions, your memories of your first...?

A. I wen. back in 1957, January, and I really went back only because Mrs. Ala, the wife of the then prime minister -- I think it was prime minister or minister to the Court, I'm not sure now -- in '57 ... Mrs. Ala had insisted, had met me in Paris over dinner when I was working -- this is after the war now, in 1956, well after the war when I was working in Mobil again, in Paris (Mobil Oil) -- and she insisted that I came back to Persia. I could see no reason for going back to Persia, had really no desire for going back to Persia. But she got her husband in on the deal with her, and they had to have a meeting of the cabinet to find out whether I was ... whether I could go back, whether I would be allowed to go back. They could see no difficulty, apparently, in that; then they had to go to the Shah and ask him. And he thought a lot and he could see no reason, well he could see again no

difficulty. I was a Persian, after all.

Q. But your family hadn't abdicated yet.

A. I know, yes, but this is all after the war, in '57. We'd never abdicated the throne, ever. But there was no law against us, I think. As far as I remember, there was only one Qajar, Salar-od-Dowleh, against whom there was a law -- he could not go back -- but that law against him was by his own brother, who was Mohammad-Ali Shah.

So, having cleared my return, then they had to think about a job for me. Now all this time I knew nothing about what was going on; I was sitting in Paris. Then they approached a man called ... who was in ... the head of the international oil consortium, Mr. Saitens <?>, a Dutchman, from Shell. And he said, yes, he'd be delighted to put me in a position in the consortium in Tehran. And when all this was over, I was suddenly told about it. And I thought, "Well, why not?" I decided, so I went back. My impressions were not good at all, to start with anyway.

Q. So you were given a job in the consortium operations in Tehran? What was...?

A. I was Assistant Head of Materials; and then I was sent south, as Head of Materials and Fields in the field areas

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where the exploration and production of oil was carried out. When that was over, I did a spell in the refinery, again ... a separate company, but a member company of the consortium, in Abadan, returning to Tehran to take over as Head of Materials in Tehran for the whole consortium.

Q. What were the factors or things that you saw that gave you a not very favorable impression of...?

A. Basically corruption. Corruption at all levels.

Q. Of course with the position you had in the company, you would be in a position to see some of that.

A. Oh, yes. Well, I mean, not only I -- in some cases it was so open it was quite amazing. I was a bit naive to start with; I had never been in the Middle East. But I realized slowly but surely that if one wanted to get anywhere, you had to be with a group and you had to have an entry into the very top. By that I mean, right up as far as the Shah if one could get *<that far>*. One saw this quite clearly. And it was difficult to say anything openly, to speak at all in many ways, and twice I was apprehended by the SAVAK because I had been too open in my condemnation of what I saw. I never minced my words so far as the Shah himself was concerned, I said what I thought -- which possibly was not very intelligent. But I'd been brought up in the Navy and I

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couldn't operate any other way. But people suddenly ... people eventually realized that I couldn't do it any other way.

Q. Would you like to tell us about either one of those occasions with the SAVAK? Did you actually go to an office or did they come to you, or...?

A. Well, in the first instance, they appeared in my office one day, and they said that I had been accused of climbing up the wall in a hotel and bringing down the picture of the Shah and stomping all over it -- which was a physical impossibility, because the picture was, anyway, about 20 or 25 feet high on the wall behind the reception desk. Well, I had to get to the desk, behind the desk with a ladder, climb, bring the thing down and do it. However, I was taken first of all to the ... what is called in Persian etteela'at -- I think that means the people who give information.

Q. That's in the police or the SAVAK?

A. In the police.

Q. Edareh etteela'at shahrbanu (intelligence section of the police).

A. Yes. And these two people who came to my office said

would I follow them, and I tried to find out what it was all about -- I couldn't speak a word of Persian then. And they tried to explain to me I was going to the ettehā'at and I'd learn more about it there. One of them told me he was my cousin -- one of the men who came along to fetch me -- by the name of Dolatshahi. I believed him. There were so many cousins anyway that I was in no position to say he was or he wasn't my cousin. And when that was over, in the ettehā'at-e shahrbanī, they hoped it was all over -- so did I, and I went back to my office.

But a week or ten days later, they appeared again, and they said this time it was rather more serious. They were taking me to what was called the dādāsetān-e xteh (prosecutor general of the army) -- that, I believe, is the military tribunal. Well, I went there and I was faced by an Iranian air force officer who could speak French. He asked me the same questions; I replied in the same way. I completely denied the whole thing.

Q. Again the questions were concerning this alleged event of taking the picture?

A. Yes. The questions were entirely to do with the so-called event of the picture of the Shah. I denied the whole thing. And, luckily, they allowed me to leave.

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Q. To leave their office?

A. To leave the office.

Q. To leave the office.

A. Because before I went in, I had been told by Dolatshahi that if I had any friends in Tehran I should then telephone them, because once you go in there, you might not come out. They let me out and produced a file on me. The file was a nuisance because every time I wanted to leave Iran, either on business or on holiday, it was a ... it was a nuisance to try and get the permission to do so, because of the existence of this file. Eventually, through a friend, I met a general who was pretty high up in the army. He and I became friends and I told him the story. And, to my surprise, he just picked up the telephone one day, and he telephoned somewhere or other, and the file was destroyed.

Q. Just like that.

A. So I was able to move again more freely. And the second time was when I was asked to go the National Iranian Oil Company offices to see Colonel -- I think his name was Tabatabai -- who was the representative of SAVAK in NIOC, and who had, according to him, been one of the people around my father. In other words, he was ... he served my father in

some capacity or other. And when I saw him in the NIOC offices, I asked him what this was about. He said he couldn't tell me himself, he didn't know, but the SAVAK had asked to see me. He said he'd give me a letter to take to them, and directed me to their offices which were just off Shah Reza -- Avenue Shah Reza -- in Tehran.

When I arrived there, there were three men -- in other words, two youngish ones and one older, the older one was a colonel apparently -- all wearing civilian clothes. And we did the normal thing, which is sitting up and sitting down, sitting up and sitting down -- Persian politeness -- passing the time of day, talking about the weather. And in the end, I was speaking in English; I still couldn't speak Persian at that time. And, anyway, he asked me if I spoke any Persian at all, and I said very little. But he asked me to try and speak it with him.

And after all the politenesses, I did say that my "... the consortium, I think considered my time as being a little important, or they wouldn't be paying me, what was all this about?" He said he'd heard that in my own office I criticized the government of Iran very often. At that time, Eghbal, Dr. Eghbal, was prime minister. I said yes, I did, I was sure I did. And then I put the question to him. I said, "But you say this is a free country, is it not? If it is a free country, if the government does something that I

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consider, as an individual, not to be right, I obviously criticize it."

Anyway, he made me to understand that, in my case, it would be better if I did not criticize whatever I saw. And again this went on for some time -- it was all very pleasant. And when I was leaving, I did ask him, I said, "Well, where have you got your information from?" And he told me it was from my own office. And then I did a silly thing, I asked him who in the office. And of course, he just laughed and said he couldn't tell me that. And that was that. I left, and probably the next day I criticized the government again, but I think they were getting used to me by then, so they left it.

Q. So you continued working in Iran until what year?

A. 1971, when I came back to London, in Mobil, and a year later transferred from Mobil to Iranian Oil Services in London, which had been ... which was and had always been the buying and service organization in London for the Iranian Oil Consortium, in providing materials, staff -- literally a service organization for Iran.

Q. What was it like going back to Iran, to the place where your father, your parents...? Obviously people must have known who you were. Working as an executive within a

company? It must have been very difficult.

A. Well, in many ways it was. In many ways one of the things which was the most difficult was the fact that I had never realized how many Qajars there really were. As I said, it's a tribe. And wherever I went, whatever party I attended, I'd meet people who would turn around and say they were my cousins through so and so, through this person, through that person, who had never meant anything to me. And it wasn't easy, it wasn't easy going back, with the name I carried, because really all the others had in one way or another been brought up between Persia and Europe or America. But they had never lost their touch or contact with Persia, they all spoke Persian.

And in a way one felt completely, in a way, isolated. It was not easy. Particularly, as I say, carrying the name I carried. Okay, all the others supposedly were Qajars in some shape or other, but they were not of the same source as I was. And of course, a lot of them, their bread and butter depended upon the Shah. And the Court. They were nearly all in business, in the kind of business one does in Persia, whereas I was with the international, normal, European oil consortium.

Q. Did you actually go to north Tehran to look at the estates that were owned by your father?

A. Oh yes, I used to pass them every time I went up to Shemiran. I couldn't believe it, their size. I was told at one time that the ghanat -- that's the water well in Aghdasiyeh -- alone was worth well over five million tomans. And here was I working for the consortium for a pittance.

But I think that what my father did to declare himself the rightful Shah of Persia on the death of his brother Ahmad Shah was right. I don't think he could have done anything else. But I also think that he, in doing that, should not have given rise to Reza Khan in confiscating my father's own private, personal estates. They were nothing to do with the Crown, they had nothing to do ... they were his own estates. If they had belonged to the Crown, I could understand it. But in fact, I think I'm right in saying that not one single palace during the time of the Qajars belonged to the Qajars; they all belonged to the Crown. Whereas afterwards, each palace which was built by Reza Khan and his children belonged to them personally.

Q. If the son of the late Shah, who is now living in exile outside of Iran, came to you, as a person who was in similar circumstances 40 years ago, and said, "Give me some advice in 25 words or less as a person, as one man giving it to a young man...." What do you think you would say to him?

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A. "Don't believe those around you, particularly if they're Persians, without giving it considerable thought. And be incorruptible -- if you can."

Q. We have heard people say that perhaps he should have continued his studies at a college that he was attending. He was going to a very good college in Massachusetts named Williams, and....

A. The whole story of the flight of the Pahlavi family to America is a little murky, and I don't think one will ever really know the truth. I believe his father tried to give him the kind of education that he honestly thought his son should have. And I think the son was too ... the son in a way was a little young to be corrupted, a little young when he left -- was forced to leave -- Iran to have begun to become corrupted by those around him. Of course I don't know the atmosphere he lived in. But I believe that in any event, I know that his mother was brought up completely normally, in her case, without money in France, and presumably her influence had something on him.

But I think ... I think those days are over -- nothing ever goes back, anyway historically. You either go forward or you stop for a little while. I think the days of Shahs in Iran ~~are~~ over. Unless, of course, one puts forward the argument that Iran really needs a Shah because of all the various

ethnic groups. But I would think that a strong man, at the head of a strong democracy, would do just as well, where the ethnic groups are concerned, as any Shah. But that's my own feeling; that's my own opinion.

Q. Was Qavam-os-Saltaneh related to the Qajars?

A. No, Qavam-os-Saltaneh was the brother of another great man, Vossough-od-Dowleh, but I believe Qavam was greater than his brother. I didn't know his brother, but this is what I'm told by all concerned. Qavam for Iran was a great person. The last, I would say, I know of anybody being a great person in Persia. He was of the old school but yet modern. He was put in a position to overthrow Dr. Mossadegh, which he did for a very short while, but in a way it came too late because Qavam was too old at that time to carry out an operation of that nature. And of course the crowds in the streets were too much for him. I think it's common knowledge that the crowds in the street, in any event will always appear if there are ten-touman notes being distributed -- they never did it of their own free will, as such. I don't think they had any free will.

And ... well, I think that if Qavam had been able to ... if he had been twenty years younger, he could have done something quite big. He was, after all, responsible really for getting the Russians out of Azerbaijan after the war.

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Although I know that history books were written to the effect that it was the Persian army that did it. But the truth is not quite that.

Q. Did you ever meet Qavam?

A. I met Qavam in Paris. We came to London together, on a trip, when he was meeting various people in the British government.

Q. This was in the '50s, in the early '50s?

A. Yes. Just before actually the overthrow of Mossadegh for that short period of time. I liked him. He was a very vain man, oddly enough, even at that pretty advanced age.

Q. To all people, or to people who he considered below him?

A. No, by vain I mean that to the extent that although he had little hair, he used to paint hair on his head.

Q. I see.

A. He was vain in his own personal appearance, and dress, and that kind of thing. No, I think that of all the Persians that I met, and quite a number who were supposedly great men, or they think they are great men, I think Qavam stood head

and shoulders above them all.

Q. And what was it about him that impressed you -- I never having the fortune of ever meeting him?

A. He was a big man. Not so big in height, but he was a powerful man. He had tremendous personality. He had much more personality than people like Hoveida, for instance, I mean there's no comparison, that kind of thing. Or Amouzegar or Dr. Eghbal, any of those people.

Q. Was he a man that one would feel warm towards when you met him, or feared, or respected?

A. You respected him. You respected him, and you automatically gave him the respect due to him. Without really thinking too much about it. He had that kind of personality.

Q. There's one paragraph written in Princess Ashraf's book, in which she says that ... in describing Qavam, she said that he would not allow any chairs to be placed in his office so as to ... so that the visitor was not able to sit in his presence, and that you could not address him directly, and you had to address your question or whatever you wanted to say through his secretary. Does that sound plausible?

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A. Well, it sounds plausible because that is well within the Persian character, in Persia dealing with ordinary Persians. But don't forget that Qavam served my father. There's a picture of him on the wall, actually. He served my father and his relationship with me was quite different. In any event, there was nothing Persian-Persian about me like you get the Persian-Persian in Persia going to a government office.

Q. Well, did you see him with other Persians -- how he would behave with them?

A. Yea, I saw him ... I never saw him with Persians, unless it was within his own immediate family -- by that I mean his son. I never saw him, but I can well ... I never saw him with Persians serving him, as such. But I can quite imagine, having seen what I saw during the years I was in Persia, that in this particular case -- and, as I say, he was a much more powerful man than any of the others -- the average Persian behavior towards him would be completely servile.

Q. How was he with foreigners? How did he behave in the presence of important foreigners?

A. He wasn't at a disadvantage except in the language problem.

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Q. Presumably he spoke no English.

A. He spoke very, very little English. In fact, he spoke no French, as far as I remember.

Q. Really?

A. As far as I remember, he spoke no French. Although he came from the school of Persians that ... when French was really the second language in the country. I think he felt, in the presence of a foreigner ... he didn't feel at a disadvantage, but he obviously was not in the same position with a foreigner here as he would have been with a Persian. What I'm trying to say really is that a person normally should be exactly the same with both; there should be no difference between the two. But having been brought up.... The usual Persian fawning around a greater man is inclined to corrupt that man, unless that man is a very, very strong man. Well, of course, there isn't that aspect of it with a foreigner, unless the foreigner is in Persia trying to get a contract from him, probably.

Q. Did he maintain the sort of strong, silent image with foreigners or did he seem sort of over-friendly, which was sort of the opposite side of the coin?

A. No. No, the strong, silent image. He spoke when he was

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spoken to, or when he wanted to speak.

Q. He maintained his dignity?

A. Oh, yes, he maintained his dignity completely -- no servility about him. But not obviously in the same position that he would be with a Persian. One could feel that.

Q. So what language did you speak with him?

A. In broken Persian. I think even if he'd spoken English a little better, he would still not have spoken English because he wanted his Persian to be translated into English -- that's what he would want.

Q. So he was of the school that would have spoken in his own native language?

A. Yes. And he was ... he was very cunning; he was very clever, he was very cunning. But, to the extent that a Persian politician is straight, I would say he was straight.

Q. Did he seem a man of strong convictions, or was he a man that was pragmatic and therefore willing to sort of bend with the wind? How would you describe him?

A. No, he had strong convictions. But what surprised me was

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that even at that advanced age he still wanted power. He still wanted to get back into power again.

Q. People have accused him of having a very negative attitude toward the Pahlavi dynasty, and there are reports in the State Department archives that the Shah feared Qavam and thought that perhaps Qavam wanted to replace him as ... president of the republic, rather than as the Shah's prime minister.

A. Well, that wouldn't surprise me. I don't think he thought an awful lot of the Pahlavis. Well, there are many, many of that school who did not think very much of the Pahlavis, but were not in a position to do anything about it. I've forgotten now, but there were three or four of them -- one of them was Mr. Ali -- who refused to sign the piece of paper in the Majlis.

Q. There were Ali and Mossadegh....

A. To bring the Pahlavis to power.

Q. Taghizadeh, Modarres.

A. Taghizadeh I knew in London; I met him in London a number of times. He was also of the same school as Qavam -- in many ways like him. He'd been ambassador in London, I think, for

some seven years.

Q. Yes.

A. I'd never met him as a young man in England; I met him really the first time at the time of my father's death. And I was impressed by the man: I liked the man. But, as I say, it was difficult to talk to.... There's always this barrier amongst Persians when they meet for the first time -- they're usually so mistrustful of each other that they don't, they just will not speak to each other at all openly, they're trying to ... they think that each one is going to do something to the other, for some unknown reason, so they're never really open, unless they become very close friends. But first meetings are always difficult with Persians. There's a lot of hypocrisy to this as well. I mean, at many parties in Tehran that I used to go to, each Iranian was suspicious of the other, unless as I say they knew each other very well. And they all enjoyed a drink, but being offered a drink, they'd say, "No, no, no, I never touch it," you know, "I'll have orange juice or tomato juice." Then on returning to his own home, he'd open the bottle and drink like a fish -- but not in front of the other Persians, which always surprised me, because to me this is sheer hypocrisy.

Q. Especially since you hadn't been brought up in Iran; you had been brought up in this country.

A. Yes, yes, I never understood it. Because every other Persian knew that this is exactly what the fellow was going to do anyway when he got home. But it was the accepted thing. You pretend, you pretend all the time.

Q. What sort of impression do you think that the foreigners, particularly the British, had about Qavam? Did they have respect for him?

A. I think they'd respect him, I don't know if they'd trust him. I think they'd respect him. In other words, I think that they would find it difficult, or they would have found it difficult, to get Qavam to be their lackey. So, from that point of view I think they would not be open with him.

Q. Therefore, the sort of statements by people that, you know, "Qavam was the man of the British," or he was the "man of" this or that, you don't find....

A. No, I don't find that credible, really. I mean, you say a "man of the British," but the question is to what degree, to what extent. If it served Qavam at any point to work with the British, he would do it. But from there to become a real lackey of the British, I doubt that -- To me it would be out of context, out of character.

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Q. Of course, in 1946 it was said that Qavam was a man of the Russians.

A. Yes, but it was in 1946 or thereabouts when, because of the oil business in the Caspian, he managed to get the Russians to come out of Iran. No, I don't think he was a man... I think he was an honest patriotic Persian. And very much for Qavam himself as well.

Q. But did you feel he had feelings and thoughts about Iran, you know, what Iran should become, what should be done for Iran?

A. I don't think he went that far because he was too much of the old school. His education had not taken him, as a young man, to that extent. I think Qavam was for Persia, independent Persia, and for Qavam himself. I don't think he thought in terms of factories and railways and hospitals and -- I don't know -- the welfare state sort of thing.

Q. How about in terms of the constitution, independence, freedom, those kinds of things?

A. I think he thought in terms of the constitution, I don't think he thought too much in terms of freedom of the individual because I think he always thought that the Persian was really ungovernable, unless there was a whip, unless

there was strength behind the government. No, I don't think he'd have been the kind of man to give too much freedom to the man in the street. Because I think that he would have thought if you do that, the Persian becomes an anarchist, practically.

Q. Again, in 1946, he was accused of being a tool of Mozzafer Firouz, by the Americans. Does that...?

A. I think the Americans were mistaken, I think it was the other way around. I think Mozzafer Firouz may well have thought that Qavam was his tool, where in reality Mozzafer turned out historically to have been Qavam's tool. Qavam used him to create the Ministry of Labor. Qavam saw his danger, I think, at the time of the Seyyed Zia-ed-Din fiasco, when Mozzafer Firouz brought Seyyed Zia-ed-Din back from Palestine, couldn't work with him, and imprisoned him. I think Qavam saw the danger in Firouz; and I think that Firouz's open hatred towards the Shah at that time did not serve Qavam's purpose for Qavam, so he sent Firouz to Russia as ambassador, knowing full well that it was only for a year or thereabouts, at which time Firouz would be out. And Firouz since then -- I'm talking about 1947 -- has never been back in Persia. I think Firouz, if he'd ever gone back to Persia during those years, would have immediately been taken and imprisoned by the Shah.

Q. So knowing something about the personality of Qavam and Firouz, you can't imagine-- in 1946 -- Qavam being a puppet of Firouz, as he was accused of being?

A. No. No.

Q. And it appeared that way -- that he was pretending for his own purposes?

A. I think Firouz may well have thought that, wished that, or hoped that, but I think that quietly it was the other way around. Qavam was a much ... is a much deeper man than Firouz -- in many ways much more the statesman than the politician. Qavam had been on the Persian stage, worldwide, for some considerable time. His brother Vossough-od-Dowleh, also had been, but Vossough-od-Dowleh was not as great a man, in my opinion, as his brother. Although I know little about Vossough-od-Dowleh, I'm only talking from hearsay.

Q. Well it was, as I said, the American ambassador, George Allen, who reported to his government ... in one of the criticisms of Qavam, he states that Qavam is too much under the control of Mozzefar Firouz.

A. I think that Allen was misled. I think Allen was too naive in thinking that. I think you would find that the British would not have thought that -- again, that's my own

opinion.

Q. Mozzafer Firouz is someone you've known for....

A. Oh, yes, I've known him for years; I've known him since 1947. I like the man enormously. He's very sharp, very quick. But he obviously did not play his cards right, or he'd have foreseen that Qavam was going to send him. He'd have foreseen that Qavam was a deep man. What I'm trying to say really is that if Mozzafer had been a different kind of a man, he would not have put himself in the position of Qavam, getting rid of him to Russia and then completely out of the Persian foreign service.

Q. Have you ever met with any of the Pahlavis? A social encounter...?

A. I had lunch -- or was it dinner, I've forgotten which -- with Abdorreza in Paris.

Q. What was it like for a member of one dynasty to meet another?

A. He was quite a pleasant young man. He was on his way back to Iran after being educated in America.

Q. I see, this was 1947 or 1948.

A. Yes. He was a very pleasant young man. To my mind, there was no personality, nothing to show ... nothing to leave any kind of impression on me that the man was a brother of a king, or something like that. To me, he looked just like any other Persian, except possibly better-looking than the average Persian at that time. No, there was no impression at all made on me by him, none whatsoever.

Q. Well, I meant more a sort of a feeling that "he is now in a position or situation that my family was in six years ago" this kind of a....

A. No. No, not at all. Oddly enough, well, you know that the Pahlavis are my cousins as well, on their mother's side, Dolatshahis.

Q. I see, yes.

A. The Shah was not, Ashraf is not....

Q. Shams is not.

A. Shams is not. She's a <??>

Q. Gholam Reza?

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A. Gholam Reza is. Abdorreza is. Hamid Reza is. Their mothers were all Qajars.

Q. I wonder what it was like for them being members of two really different, two different dynasties.

A. Well, in '47 things were very different. This Abdorreza was a young fellow, just brought up, and finished schooling in the states, and I thought probably he thought the same about me as I thought about him. I made it very plain that I didn't ... I wasn't enormously enamored by his brother, who was then the Shah.

Q. You told him that?

A. Oh, I told him. He laughed. I don't think he gave a damn. I don't think within their own family they get on with each other, anyway. I think the only strong one they had in that family was the brother who was killed in the airplane crash.

Q. Ali Reza.

A. Ali Reza.

Q. Did you ever meet him?

A. I used to see him in Paris with his Polish wife. We used to frequent the same bar in the Porte Dauphine <?>. Again, if you saw ... to me there was never anything really to distinguish the Pahlavis as being something rather different to the average, they were so ordinary-looking people. Ali Reza certainly was not a good-looking person in the same way as his brother, Aborreza. But he gave the impression of more character; he gave the impression of possibly being sharper, more character, more guts.

Q. This is Ali Reza?

A. Ali Reza. That's the impression I got. But, a very ordinary-looking young man, I mean not even good-looking, Ali Reza, to my mind he wasn't.

I met Ashraf, of course, in Paris, many times, at the time she was kicked out by Dr. Mossadegh. I have a great-aunt who lives in Paris, who is very fond of gambling, and she used to take us to the casinos and that kind of thing. And of course, at that time, Ashraf had no money. And she used to come along and borrow money from my aunt all the time, in the casino, to go and play, lose, come back and borrow some more. She had no money at that time. I thought her very attractive, good-looking ... well, more attractive -- no, she was both attractive and good-looking, small ... appeal, a lot of appeal. Again, from what I am told, she is the stronger.

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much stronger than her brother who was the Shah. Which often happens in the case of twins. I think she's got a lot to answer for.

Q. After meeting you, did she make any sort of comments about who you were?

A. No. We spoke, we ... just as if I was speaking to any other woman, and she was speaking to any young man. There was no....

Q. Did she talk politics with you?

A. No, I don't think she'd really started into it at that time: perhaps she had just started. We're talking now about 1982.

Q. And the fact that she had been forced to leave Iran and be in France, not by choice?

A. No, she didn't mention that. She had a bevy of young people who were around her all the time. As I say, I only met her once or twice, and that was in the casino when she was borrowing money to play.

Q. Well, thank you for giving me and all the people in the next decades who will be listening to this tape....

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A. It's pretty disjointed.

Q. Well, I think you haven't heard some others.